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EQUAL RIGHTS

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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The Opening Of The New Session, 78th Congress

By GAETA WOLD BOYER

WITH the announcement last month from Representative Cannon of Florida that he would initiate a discharge petition to take the Equal Rights Amendment out of the House Judiciary Committee, the campaign for passage of the Amendment took on renewed vigor and hope. With great enthusiasm, members of the National Woman's Party threw their efforts into the work of securing pledges from Congressmen that they would sign the petition.

Some of our staunchest friends in Congress voluntarily sent word to the National Woman's Party Headquarters that they would sign immediately after presentation of the petition. Several expressed their gratification that they might thus get a chance to vote on the Amendment, and their indignation that a few Committee members had presumed to refuse them this opportunity.

Representative Ludlow of Indiana, so long the unfaltering friend of the Amendment and its chief sponsor in the House of Representatives, immediately endorsed the discharge petition plan. He said:

> "While women are doing their magnificent part in the Armed Forces and the war plants, a thousand discriminations against women on the statute books of various States are crying to heaven for redress. What we propose to give women in the Equal Rights Amendment is the inalienable right of equality under democratic government."

Representatives from other States immediately followed the Florida Delegation. Among the first were Representatives Homer D. Angell of Oregon, Republican; Frank A. Barrett of Wyoming, Republican; George H. Bender of Ohio, Republican; Paul Cunningham of Iowa, Republican; Stephen A. Day of Illinois, Republican; Charles S. Dewey of Illinois, Republican; Daniel Ellison of Maryland, Republican; Bertrand W. Gearhart of California, Republican; Lex Green of Florida, Democrat; Joe Hendricks of Florida, Democrat; Carl Hinshaw of California, Republican; Ed V. Izac of California, Democrat; Calvin D. Johnson of Illinois, Republican; William Lemke of North Dakota, Republican; Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, Republican; John R. Murdock of Arizona, Democrat; Charles A. Plumley of Vermont, Republican; Robert F. Rockwell of Colorado, Republican; Robert L. F. Sikes of Florida, Democrat; Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, Republican; Winifred C. Stanley of New York, Republican; Earle D. Willey of Delaware, Republican; Compton I. White of Idaho, Democrat; Earl Wilson of Indiana, Republican.

With the close of the year came the heartening news from Mrs. Lula E. Powell, Republican National Committeewoman for Maryland, that she was sending to all her fellow national committeewomen throughout the nation a strong appeal to them to arouse the Republican women in their states to the "tremendous importance in the coming election of Republican support of the Equal Rights Amendment." Mrs. Powell wrote:

> "The Republican Party was responsible for extending suffrage to women following the last World War. When a Democratic President was in Europe busily carving out new democracies, American women were compelled forcefully to point out that democracy should begin at home.
>
> "The Republican Party has demonstrated that it realizes women must have the full Constitutional status of citizens by including in its 1940 platform a specific plank supporting the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.
>
> "The Republican Party gained the support of many women by this stand for justice for women, and it will receive the support of many more if it firmly adheres to the stand it has taken.
>
> "It is the conviction of organized Maryland Republican women that now is the time for Republican women all over the country to confirm and reinforce this righteous stand of their Party so that women voters will have a standard around which to rally in the coming election when their votes will be decisive."

The Republican members of Congress seem to have no intention of losing the advantage that their recorded friendship has given them. The New Year brought many congratulatory and encouraging messages from our Congressional friends, and leading papers throughout the country carried stories of their predictions that the Amendment will greatly influence the coming elections.

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A Prayer for 1944

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O GOD, our Heavenly Father, guide us, we beseech Thee, to think and to act wisely and righteously. Teach us so to work that women may attain to their greatest usefulness, untrammeled by prejudice or error, and grant that men and women may work together for the good of humanity and to the glory of God. Amen.

Equal Rights

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress and the several States shall have power within their respective jurisdictions, to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"This amendment shall take effect five years after the date of ratification."

History in Present Congress

House Joint Resolution No. 1 Introduced Jan. 6, 1943, in House of Representatives by Representative Ludlow (Ind.) with forty-two co-sponsors. Reported by Sub-Judiciary Committee to full Judiciary Committee with unanimous favorable recommendation, June 22, 1943. Brought to a vote in Judiciary Committee Oct. 5 and failed by three votes of necessary majority for favorable report. Now before House Judiciary Committee, notice having been given of intention to ask for reconsideration by several members.

Senate Joint Resolution No. 25 Introduced January 21, 1943, in Senate by Senator Guy M. Gillette (Iowa) with twenty-three co-sponsors. Reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee to the Senate, May 28, 1943. Now on Senate calendar.

Letter to the President

January 8, 1944.

HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

We women of the National Woman's Party, gathered in tribute to Lucretia Mott, founder of the movement for the freedom of women, on this anniversary week of her birth, call upon you, Mr. President, and upon the Congress of the United States, to remove through the Equal Rights Amendment the last vestiges of inequality between men and women in the United States; and to extend to all its citizens alike the democracy which the American Government is promising the rest of the world.

Your great Democratic predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, appeared before Congress during the last world war to urge the passage of the Equal Suffrage Amendment. In his address to the Senate, President Wilson said:

> "We have made partners of the women in this war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of sacrifice and suffering and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and of right? . . . Democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon equal footing with them."

We appeal to you, Mr. President, to follow the noble precedent set by Woodrow Wilson and to use your great influence with the present Congress to secure the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and thus make our nation a complete and actual democracy. Respectfully submitted by the

LUCRETIA MOTT ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE
OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY,
(Signed) MARIE MOORE FORREST, *Chairman.*
JEAN WOLD, *Vice-Chairman.*

Opening Of New Session, 78th Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

Representative Homer D. Angell (Republican) of Oregon said:

> "I predict that 1944 will see the return to power of the Republican Party which extended suffrage to women and which included in its 1940 platform a plank urging Congress to submit an Amendment giving all Americans equality of rights under the law. The recent vote in the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives points to a speedy victory for the Amendment when the Republicans are in power. The Republican Party has taken through the years an advanced position in achieving for the women of the nation equality with men."

Representative Stephen A. Day (Republican) of Illinois said:

> "The adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution is a fundamental conception of the Republican Party. To my mind there is no valid reason to prevent a speedy adoption of this Amendment. The opposition up to this time has been misguided, due entirely to a lack of information as to the need for such a measure. I am pleased to note that this opposition is gradually dissolving and I look forward to the day when this very necessary Amendment will be a part of the Constitution."

Representative Bertrand W. Gearhart (Republican) of California expressed his determination to sign the discharge petition "as soon as it is presented." He continued: "I am for the Equal Rights Amendment. Since the House Judiciary Committee failed to report the Amendment favorably, I favor discharging the Committee from further consideration of it."

Representative Charles S. Dewey (Republican) of Illinois sent greetings with the "hope that the New Year will see the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment." Representative Margaret Chase Smith (Republican) of Maine wrote: "Many inquiries come to me asking my attitude on this Amendment. It would mean that women would have full privileges and responsibilities. I expect to vote for it." Representative Roy O. Woodruff (Republican) of Michigan also voiced his support and said "I see no reason why the Equal Rights Amendment should not be submitted to the states during 1944."

Meanwhile editorial support throughout the country has increased and offers concrete evidence of the awakened consciousness of the national mind to the question of woman's status. Inquiries for further information are contantly coming to Headquarters. Resolutions of support are constantly being added to the growing pile of endorsements. There is evidence everywhere of increased interest and increased enthusiasm. If with the splendid promise of the New Year the Amendment fails of support in Congress; if the discharge petition so promptly and gallantly promised by Representative Cannon falls short of the required 218 signatures, it can only be because we have not been diligent enough. Our Representatives in Congress must be deluged with letters urging them to sign the petition. We must not fail our friends who have promised to do all that it is possible for them to do. We must bring to them all the support that is within our power.

"THE FIGHT MUST GO ON! FAILURE IS IMPOSSIBLE!"

Editorial Support And Nationwide Publicity For The Equal Rights Amendment

A list of some of the leading newspapers and magazines which have run articles, published significant letters, and expressed favorable editorial opinion on the Equal Rights Amendment since the failure to report on the part of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives on October 5, reflects the determination of the American people to have this Amendment submitted to the states without delay. We have received copies of the following, which are listed in chronological order:

October—6th, New York *Herald Tribune,* New York *Times;* 7th, New York *Herald Tribune, Christian Science Monitor;* 8th, Hartford *Courant,* New Haven *Courier Journal;* 12th, White Plains *Reporter Dispatch;* 14th, Los Angeles *Daily Journal;* 27th, Houston *Press;* 30th, *Christian Science Monitor.*

November—*General Federation Club Women, Independent Woman;* 9th, Miami *Herald,* Blue Ridge *Herald;* 16th, *Congressional Record;* 21st, Wilmington *Sunday Morning Star;* 25th, Baltimore *News-Post,* Houston *Press;* 26th, *Congressional Record;* 29th, Charleston *News and Courier.*

December—*American Mercury;* 2nd, San Francisco *News;* 5th, Los Angeles *Times;* 6th, Ontario *Daily Report;* 9th, New York *Herald Tribune,* Blue Ridge *Herald,* York *Republican;* 11th, Boston *Daily Record;* 14th, New York *World Telegram,* Pittsburgh *Press;* 15th, Philadelphia *Record,* Los Angeles *Examiner,* San Francisco *Examiner;* 16th, *Think Tank,* Hartford *Courant.*

January—3rd, New York *Herald Tribune,* New York *Times,* Washington *Post;* 4th, New York *Herald Tribune.*

Copies of some of these articles may be obtained from the National Headquarters of the National Woman's Party.

The last of these editorials to reach this office, from the New York *Herald Tribune* of January 4, is given below:

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Prospects for passage by the 1944 session of Congress of an amendment writing equal rights for women into the Constitution are increasingly bright. The measure was favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee last spring, and the opposition of the House committee, which unexpectedly voted against a favorably report in October, will probably be overcome by a discharge petition. Republican members are supporting the legislation, which was one of the planks of their 1940 platform, and have pledged many signatures to a petition. As earnest that Republicans are not to be allowed sole claim to the title "Friend of Women," Representative Pat Cannon, Democrat, has likewise promised to launch a petition to bring the amendment to the floor of the House for debate. We believe that debate will result in its passage as a measure of simple justice to the women of the nation now fulfilling essential roles in the prosecution of the war.

The measure has already been overlong delayed. Passage and ratification of the nineteenth amendment, giving women the franchise following World War I, should have assured women equal citizen status with men. That it has failed to do so is obvious from existing inequalities in the laws of the various states. Delay early in the war on decisions to utilize women's skills in the armed services gave further evidence that women have not been generally deemed to have equal status. Twenty-six national women's organizations are convinced that equality may be attained only by an amendment to the Constitution. It is gratifying that Congress now anticipates action looking to submitting such an amendment to the states.

An Open Letter To The New York *Times*

IS ATLANTIC CHARTER TO APPLY TO WOMEN?

January 3rd, 1944.

To the Editor of the New York Times,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

A tiny item buried under an irrelevant headline sometimes raises a question of worldwide and enormous significance. To date no one has commented on it. The item appeared in your Christmas issue (Page 4, Column 1) and read:

> "Woman's suffrage which the (French) committee promises immediately, is regarded by some as a constitutional change for which the Committee has no authority."

The *"some"* appears from the context to be conservative elements within the resistance movement in France.

The question raised is not only of worldwide significance to women, but to all citizens within occupied countries and territories that were disfranchised before occupation.

If the Atlantic Charter means what it says, namely, that the people as they are liberated shall choose their own form of government, then surely all citizens, white, black, male or female, have a right to express their opinion and to vote on a new constitution. It is doubtful whether any women, certainly not French women, will vote to disfranchise themselves.

In the meantime the De Gaulle Committee in promising immediate woman suffrage in that part of the French Empire already liberated is acting exactly in accordance with the Atlantic Charter, and far from having exceeded their powers they would certainly be exceeding their powers if they had not allowed all adult citizens to express their opinion.

What a travesty of justice it would be if all the old prejudices and discriminations that existed in the occupied countries before the war were condoned and continued! What an absurdity if only the men of France were allowed to vote on the new form of government instead of the people of France!

Thousands of our boys will be called on to police the world, and millions of our money will go into it. It would be a strange duty for them to be called upon to keep French women from the polls!

The Atlantic Charter is hailed as the Twentieth Century Magna Carta. The sooner the reactionary elements in the occupied countries understand that we are not fighting the War to go back to the *status quo* before the War the better.

The French Committee of National Liberation should be congratulated and not criticized for its action.

NORA STANTON BARNEY,
Chairman of the Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party.

Women vs. Men Bus Drivers

WOMEN, ETC.—Busses driven by women require 20 per cent less gasoline and 40 per cent fewer repairs than those driven by men. So states a bus company executive. Women seem to be doing better than men in many activities which before the war were exclusively male. —Washington *Times-Herald,* Dec. 8, 1943.

Naming Of The Florence Bayard Hilles Library

December 12, 1943

SUNDAY, December 12, 1943, dawned clear and cold. Alva Belmont House was astir, ready for the formal naming of the only strictly feminist library in the world. The Library was created in 1940, was dedicated on Elizabeth Cady Stanton's birthday, November 12, 1941, and on December 12, 1943, it was formally named the Florence Bayard Hilles Library, for a past Chairman of the National Woman's Party, Chairman of the House Furnishings Committee of the Old Headquarters as far back as 1923, and more recently Chairman of the Library Committee, and above all one of the finest feminists of our time.

A platform was erected in the main hall and chairs filled the halls and all rooms opening off. A beautiful picture was made by the young girl choristers of the Yule Glee Club, of Eliot Junior High School, who, dressed in the purple, gold and white regalia of the organization, massed on the winding stairway, suggested a modern version of the famous Burne-Jones spiral stair. They opened the program by singing the Carol of the Broesnen Waits, Hannah Bonell directing.

Madame **Margaret Zilliacus** sang "March of the Women," historic marching song composed for the militant feminists of Great Britain by Dame Ethel Smyth, assisted by Miss Betty Burdette and accompanied by Evelyn Kenison.

The presiding officer, **Muna Lee**, author, poet, and devoted feminist, opened the exercises by the following statement:

"We are meeting here today for the naming of the only feminist library in the world. There are at a few institutions special collections of women's books and various efforts have been made heretofore to gather together and preserve a comprehensive library in the field. This library, collected and housed by the National Woman's Party, is inaugurated in this closing month of the world's crucial year of 1943 as a beacon of enlightenment in wartime, which please, God, will shine with increasing light through long and fruitful years of peace. This library stands as an emblem of the solidarity of the women of the world and their cooperation one with another."

The following speakers in the order of their appearance contributed appropriate remarks.

Miss Mary Elizabeth Downey, the librarian, said in part:

"As to the size of this library . . . think of it as a wing of what is to be in the future.

"Great things often have small beginnings. Many large libraries today, once were infants.

"Our great Congressional Library never has changed its name from when it was in reality the Library of Congress, with a reading room in the House and one in the Senate, including a long table in each, which tables we are now proud to have in our Library, not only because of their beauty, but also because of their historic interest.

"The great library of Harvard University was once carried across country in an ox-cart. The great library of Yale University was started by a dozen men each laying a few books on a table, saying, 'I give these books for the founding of a library in this colony.'

"This Library, only two years old, which you honor with your presence today, is to be highly specialized for reference use, being the only one we know to have as its sole purpose books by and about women."

At this point Miss Lee paid tribute to the generous contribution of one of our members, to the new library, **Miss Mary Alice Matthews**, who was for many years librarian of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. When Miss Matthews retired in 1941, she contributed her services to cataloguing this feminist library of the National Woman's Party.

Dr. George F. Bowerman, former head of the Public Library of the District of Columbia, was the next speaker. Dr. Bowerman said in part:

"I am glad to join in doing honor to Florence Bayard Hilles in the giving of her name to the Library of the National Woman's Party. From my work as public librarian of Wilmington forty years ago I know in what high esteem the names 'Bayard' and 'Hilles' have always been held there. And I know from my long association with members of the National Woman's Party how much the work and influence of Mrs. Hilles has meant in securing the Suffrage Amendment and in the campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment.

"I have examined your interesting library and congratulate you on its possession. Aside from the books on the suffrage movement, including the biographies of the pioneer women in the cause, I found of most interest and value your bound files of The Women's Journal, The Suffragist and Equal Rights' and your large collection of pamphlets and clippings. If you find it necessary to limit your field in collecting, I suggest that by all means you specialize on pamphlets and clippings, including, for example, such magazine articles as Jane Grant's Confessions of a Feminist in the December number of American Mercury.

"In the earlier days of the suffrage work in Washington, workers in this cause were obliged to turn to the Public Library and the Library of Congress, to both of which they were welcome visitors. Now you have your own library, which no doubt supplements the material in the public collections. Your library is in good hands, with such competent volunteer librarians as Mary Downey and Alice Matthews. * * *

"When I came to Washington in 1904 I fear I was pretty indifferent to the question of woman suffrage. But when I found that as a resident of the District of Columbia I was a political cipher, my eyes were opened and I became an ardent convert to the cause. Long since you have won the Woman Suffrage Amendment—votes for everywhere else; and you are now well on your way to securing the Equal Rights Amendment. But the legal residents of the District, both women and men, are still denied the basic right of political participation in the government under which they live.

"I felt so strongly the injustice of this situation that I welcomed the opportunity to join that little band of men who took part in the suffrage parade of 1913. Since thirty years have obscured some of the memories of that day, I looked up in your library a copy of the Senate Hearings, including my own testimony. Among the marchers who are no longer with us were General Anson Mills, Colonel Joseph Webster and Dr. Harvey W. Wiley. But I did not need to read the Hearings to recall the derisive cries, still ringing in my ears, of Henpecko and Where are your skirts? that assailed us from the crowds along the route of the parade. We did not think of ourselves as martyrs to the cause of suffrage. I for one have always taken satisfaction in the memory of that day, for I fancy that my participation in that parade, more than anything else, cemented the friendship that has always been extended to me by the leaders of the National Woman's Party. Probably that, quite as much as my previous service as librarian here is responsible for your invitation to me to participate in this happy occasion."

Miss Clara W. Herbert, Librarian of the Public Library of the District of Columbia, spoke as follows:

Value of a Feminist Library

"Someone has said that the second half of this century will be known as the woman's century. Whether this is so or not, no one at all aware of national or world conditions today will fail to realize how many of them are of special concern to women. To mention only two: the War Manpower Commission anticipates that there will be 1,400,000 women in war industries in July, 1944, while Miss Anderson of the Women's Bureau puts the figure at 1,700,000. *What will happen to these women at the end of the war?* Will they want to keep their jobs, or should they give them up to the demobilized men? If they can or must keep them for economic reasons, will it be possible to find ways of doing so without sacrificing family life, the care of chil-

dren? Certainly we want no latch-key children and no general delinquency problems in the future.

"Again, we may ask, *what will be the special contribution of women in the reconstruction of the post-war world*, what part must women take in public life?

"Problems drive us to print. We need to know what has been the experience of the past, what is the best thinking of today; and where better can we find answers to these particular questions regarding women than in a feminist library? So we are fortunate in having at Headquarters here a library devoted to helping women find answers to their problems.

"A library to be effective must not only collect material and facilitate its use, but also it must carry on an educational program. This library, dedicated to the diffusion of knowledge in the field of women's interests, is bringing together and building up a collection of books, periodicals, pamphlets, and clippings, and servicing the material in ways to make its use most productive and widespread. Many of these are gifts received from persons from all over the country and include manuscripts, biography, speeches, and articles by and about women who have been active in the movement since its beginning. An invaluable collection of source material is in the making.

"But a library to be useful must have a live and active educational program. Apparently Miss Downey, the librarian of this library, is not leaving a stone unturned to make it easy for anyone interested to use its resources and bibliographic service.

"Here, detached from the petty irritations of the day, students come to read and study and groups, I understand, gather around the open fire with cups of tea to listen to book reviews and lectures and to discuss women's problems. And, incidentally, who could resist the charming atmosphere of the library with its open fires, easy chairs, and historic tables—first used in the old Capitol library.

"But this library's influence is not limited to those who can visit it in person. Study outlines are provided, bibliographies supplied university classes, program notes, radio talks, and regularly appearing articles in the Equal Rights magazine reach state groups of the National Woman's Party and so promote reading and study throughout the country. The important dates connected with the movement and its personalities are listed with suggestions for observance of anniversaries and with reference to essential information.

"In short, this library has a dynamic program and the beginnings of an exceptionally good collection. . . ."

Dr. **Archibald MacLeish**, Librarian of Congress, who was introduced by Miss Lee as "our great poet whose work is chart and compass of the spirit on the American voyage toward completeness of equality and freedom," then addressed the gathering, and said in part:

"There are good reasons why the Library of Congress should welcome the Library of the National Woman's Party to Capitol Hill and good reasons also why the Library of Congress should felicitate the Library of the National Woman's Party on the name it has chosen to bear. Capitol Hill is by way of becoming the principal library center of the world. When the Army Medical Library—the Surgeon General's Library as it used to be called—comes up to these altitudes to join the Folger and the Library of Congress and the Law Library of Congress, and that Library's branch in the Supreme Court, there will be gathered here library resources more extensive and more varied than any other similar area of the earth's surface possesses. To add to the world's largest library and its most complete Law Library and its greatest medical library and one of its foremost collections of Shakespeariana, a collection dedicated to the political enfranchisement and economic liberation of women is a fitting and appropriate thing.

"It is most fitting also, from our point of view as well as yours, that this new Library should be named for Mrs. Hilles. Mrs. Hilles is a glittering figure in the world of libraries—and particularly of libraries on Capitol Hill. It is to her we owe the gift to the Library of Congress of the papers of her distinguished father, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Cleveland's first Secretary of State and our first Ambassador to the Court of St. James'—a Senator and public servant of whom his bitterest critic said: 'No man of higher ideals or more exalted patriotism ever occupied the chair of Secretary of State.' To be thus damned by one's enemies is an honor reserved for very few.

"The 200 boxes of Bayard manuscripts in our Division of Manuscripts are a monument not only to a public-spirited man but to a public-spirited daughter—a gift we value all the more because that same Division holds as a gift—a gift, incidentally, also presented by Mrs. Hilles—the archives of the National Woman's Party.

"Those archives are an extraordinary record, filling 40 of our shelves and preserving for the astonishment of posterity an account of the struggles by which the women of the United States demonstrated to the men of the United States what every man already knew—that the only doubt about the equality of the sexes was the doubt whether the men would share it. * * *

"The archives in the Library of Congress, and the papers of Jane Addams, and Susan B. Anthony and Clara Barton and Margaret Sanger, and many others which are deposited there, will give the Library we are dedicating today a rich background of manuscript material on the woman's movement in America but this Library will, we must hope, provide the more general collection which will make that manuscript material intelligible. If it does, it will have every right to inscribe over its door, with lovely irony, those disspirited lines of Anne Bradstreet's which say:

> "'*I am obnoxious to each carping tongue*
> *Who says my hand a needle better fits,*
> *A Poet's pen all scorn I should thus wrong,*
> *For such despite they cast on Female wits;*
> *If what I do prove well, it won't advance,*
> *They'll say its stoln or else it was by chance.*'

"And underneath, as a reminder of past sufferings, there should perhaps be written the precept which Mistress Bradstreet put down among her 'Meditations Divine and Morall.'

> "'*Corne til it have past through the mill and been ground to powder is not fit for bread.*'

"Nevertheless, I hope—and I am sure Mrs. Hilles hopes also—that this Library will not be devoted solely to the political history of American women. Politics are all very well in their place, and it has now been ultimately demonstrated that that place, in America, includes women as well as men. But politics cannot be the principal preoccupation of women in the United States—and for a reason which women should be the first to remember and the first to defend. As American society has developed, women have provided the principal support for the practice of the arts and for the development of letters. It may be unfortunate that this is the fact, but it is the fact notwithstanding. * * *

"I am certain that this Library to which Mrs. Hilles' name has been given will never forget that the principal responsibility of women in the United States is the serious business of American Life—which is to say the development and the fulfillment of the American spirit and of the spirit in America."

Mrs. Faith Harlow Swank then sang Gounod's "Ave Maria" with great beauty and feeling.

At this point Miss Lee introduced **Alice Paul**, "loved and revered in many lands and many languages for her lifelong, international dedication to the cause of equality, National Chairman of the National Woman's Party, Chairman of the World Woman's Party," who gave the library its official and permanent name, in the following words:

"It is our privilege today to name our Library in honor of a great American woman—Florence Bayard Hilles.

"We do this in tribute to the thirty years of devoted service that Mrs. Hilles has given to the movement for the advancement of women.

"We do this in tribute to the courage, the devotion and the ability with which she has labored for this cause.

"And now, on behalf of the National Woman's Party and on behalf of the World Woman's Party, I name this Library 'the Florence Bayard Hilles Library'."

Miss Lee then announced that Florence Bayard Hilles, "noble feminist, noble American, noble internationalist, whose name this Library proudly bears henceforward, will express her acceptance."

Mrs. Hilles in her speech of acceptance, of the honor bestowed upon her, said:

"Members of the National Woman's Party, Ladies and Gentlemen: You have done me high honor here today, in giving to our lovely little library my name — The Florence Bayard Hilles Library—and that it has given me a deep sense of pride and pleasure I do not deny, but I must confess that I am not alone

(Continued on Page 11)

Analysis Of Vote Of October 5th, 1943, Of The Judiciary Committee Of The House Of Representatives

Distinguished New Lork Citizen discusses
The Essence of True Republicanism

57 East 78th St.
New York, N. Y.
November 22, 1943.

HONORABLE JOHN M. ROBSION
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman Robsion:

Just before leaving for the West, I read in the metropolitan press of October 6th, a report of the unexpected adverse vote on the Equal Rights Amendment, and the reason given for the last-minute shift of votes.

The news columns reported that Representative William T. Byrne had changed his vote upon the question of a favorable committee report because he had been informed that one of the Catholic organizations of his constituency had voiced an objection.

This remained so strongly in my mind as a very strange and unappropriate attitude of an American Representative in Congress to take, that after my return I looked the matter up and attempted to inquire into the circumstances. I find that according to the record Mr. Byrne had apparently investigated and decided to give support to the question of permitting a vote to be taken in the House as to whether or not the Equal Rights Amendment in its present revised form should be submitted to the States for ratification. Mr. Byrne stated specifically that his adverse vote did not affect the merits of the measure upon which he maintained that he had not changed his mind. He explained that he voted against reporting the measure out of committee because further delay of the committee's vote had been requested by the Catholic Welfare League and that in spite of this the committee had refused to change its schedule. "So," he explained, "there was nothing else for me to do."

This attitude of throwing all reasoning power to the winds and hastening to comply with the wishes of a portion of one's constituents, which may be at the moment most vocal, is contrary to the basic principles of republican government.

Constituents have the right to representation in Congress by rational men who can think and decide for themselves. There is nothing in the Constitution which requires a Congressman to abdicate his own right to decide.

How strangely the weakness of present-day Congressmen, who lack courage to vote according to their convictions, contrasts with the strength of the giants who preceded them to Congress. Daniel Webster was extremely sensitive to the wishes of his constituents. He fought valiantly for their interests but he always maintained the right to make his own decisions. Webster, a great constitutional lawyer, never allowed a narrow interest to interfere with his conception of his duty to protect and develop constitutional principles. Here is the way Webster spoke to his constituents in Faneuil Hall, June 5, 1828:

> "I was not at liberty to look exclusively to the interests of the districts in which I live, and which I heretofore had the high honor of representing. I was to extend my views to regard for all interests and a proper respect for all opinions. . . . To render the Constitution perpetual (which God grant it may be), it is necessary that its benefits should be practically felt by all parts of the country and all interests in the country.

Is it possible to imagine Abraham Lincoln, after he had formed his own judgments, voting to kill in committee a measure whose principles he had already endorsed merely because an organized group of his constituents requested him to delay or to change his vote? In 1836 Lincoln declared:

> "If elected, I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon my constituents, as well those that oppose as those that support me. While acting as their representative, I shall be governed by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is; and upon all others shall do what my judgment teaches me will best advance their interests."

President A. Lawrence Lowell, a recognized authority on constitutional law, has thus summarized the position of the legislator:

> "A representative is presumably in general accord with the opinion of his constituents, and is in fact more or less sensitive to their desires; while on the other hand, if he has self-respect, he never feels absolutely bound to follow their directions in all matters. He is no doubt selected because the voters approve of his attitude on the leading public issues, but special questions often arise on which he must be free to act according to his own opinion."

Quite aside from the merit or folly of permitting a single religious organization to retard a political reform, I charge those Representatives responsible for the "last-minute shift" in a report to permit a vote by Congress, with a weakness that is dangerous to republican government. Having once decided to support the Equal Rights Amendment, they then denied the benefit of their judgment to the whole of their constituents and acceded to the entreaties of a faction. This is a day when we look for courage, not weakness in the people's representatives in Washington.

Very truly, yours,
(*Signed*) ARTHUR C. HOLDEN.

Florence Bayard Hilles Library

By MARY ELIZABETH DOWNEY, *Librarian*

A brochure, including the program on the celebration of the naming of the Library, is to be issued and distributed. The publicity thus given the National Woman's Party should be of great educational value —attention given the event by leading newspapers was most pleasing.

Celebration of Lucretia Mott's birthday continued throughout the week of January 3rd to 8th, 1944. Various woman's organizations in Washington placed wreaths, boughs, and flowers on the monument in the Crypt of the Capitol, each bearing a quotation from one of Lucretia Mott's addresses. Great interest was shown by the public. A program and radio talks were given to stimulate interest in the Equal Rights Amendment.

Calendar and Program

February 15th brings Susan B. Anthony's birthday. It is hoped that branches all over the country will have a worthy celebration of addresses and radio talks for the occasion with as much newspaper publicity as possible. Plenty of material can be secured from encyclopedias, periodical files and biography sections in local libraries.

Gifts: The District of Columbia Branch has put the Library in its annual budget and sends a check for $4 which may offer a suggestion to State Branches throughout the country. Other gifts have come from Caroline L. Babcock, Eloy Alfaro Colon, Ambassador from Ecuador, Anna Melissa Graves, Florence Bayard Hilles, Mrs. George Maurer, L. W. Murray, W. J. Porter, Margaret Scott, Martha Souder, Irene Skariatina and Anna Kelton Wiley.

Books Wanted: Crawford, *Social Life in Old New England;* Creevy, *A Daughter of the Puritans;* Crothers, *Meditations on Votes for Women;* Cubberly, *Readings in the History of Education;* ———— *Public Education in the United States;* Dexter, *Colonial Women of Affairs;* Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, *Suffrage Songs and Verses;* Langdon-Davies, *Short History of Women;* Tinayre, *Marcelle, Madame de Pompadour,* tr. by Maynel; Van Vorst, *A Girl from China;* Adams, *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife;* Belloc, *Essays on Woman's Work;* Bembaugh, *Political Status of Women in the United States;* Brooks, *Dames and Daughters of Colonial Days;* Brown, *Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times;* Browne, *Famous Women of History;* De Varigny, *Women of the United States;* Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days;* ———— *Colonial Dames and Good Wives;* ———— *Customs and Fashions in Old New England; Eckenstein, Women Under Monasticism;* Ellet, *Women of the Revolution;* Fisher, *Men, Women, Manners in Colonial Times;* Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America;* Frazer, *Leaves from the Golden Bough;* Goncourb, *Women of the 18th Century;* Goodwin, *Dolly Madison;* Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady;* Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland;* Hammond, *Southern Women and Racial Adjustment;* Hart, *Mary White;* Hecker, *Short History of Women's Rights;* Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli;* Howes, *American Women;* Humphreys, *Catherine Schuyler;* Langford, *Ladies of the White House.*

Excerpts from . . .

Lucretia Mott—*Soul of the Woman's Movement*

By RAMONA SAWYER BARTH
First Unitarian Church, Miami, Florida.

ON JANUARY 3, 1943, we commemorated the 150th anniversary of the birth of Lucretia Coffin Mott. The power of her influence a century and a half after her birth is evident today as the crisis of wartime focuses nation-wide attention upon the proposed Lucretia Mott Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The amendment, which seeks equal rights for men and women in every sphere of activity, carries on where the Suffrage Amendment left off; to name it after Lucretia is a fitting tribute to one who started the struggle for "Woman's Freedom." Lucretia was equally, if not more, insistant upon freedom for the black man. She worked for peace; caught in the mighty torrent of the American Civil War, she nevertheless struggled with no reservations against violence as a solvent of social ills. She pioneered for liberal religion in a day when theology, with its threatening cries of damnation and hell-fire, ruled America. A devoted wife and mother, a crusader for social justice in innumerable realms, a woman with rare talents and the will to use them—such was Lucretia Mott whose latest biographer, Lloyd C. M. Hare, in 1937, writes on his title page, "The Greatest American Woman—Lucretia Mott." * * *

No product of liberal religion has yet excelled Lucretia Mott. Others among our "Unitarian Worthies" have left brilliant essays and lasting, scholarly treatises, which she failed to do; our Unitarians in the Hall of Fame surpassed her in gaining popular recognition for their contributions. Our "Channing Churches" and "Theodore Parker Clubs" constantly remind us of the great masculine, to the exclusion of the feminine greatness which is also our heritage. In our androcentric culture it may be many years before we have a "Lucretia Mott Guild" or a "Lucretia Mott Chapel" as a perpetual reminder of her life. Regardless of the lack of widespread acclaim, our inheritance from Lucretia Mott is a great one; her life stands out for its rare integration of pure ideals and the courage to live by them.

Lucretia Coffin belonged to the salt-water aristocracy of New England. The Coffin tradition was a hardy and a brilliant one. Her Nantucket Island background was one of thrift and labor, of seafaring men and resourceful women.

Marriage of Lucretia Coffin and James Mott

In 1811 in Philadelphia eighteen-year-old Lucretia Coffin and twenty-two-year-old James Mott announced in Quaker fashion to the friends who had gathered that henceforth, in the eyes of God, they were husband and wife. For fifty-seven years they were to live as one in their moral purpose, their devotion to the right as they saw it. Lucretia once said, "James and I have loved each other more than ever since we worked together for a great cause." Their life consisted of great causes intermingled with their growing family of six children. * * *

The doors of the Unitarian Church, at the peak of its liberalism in her day, were often the only ones opened to her. In Washington the Hall of Congress allowed her the use of the hall on condition that she be silent on slavery; and so she went to the Unitarian church, lecturing to a crowded house, including many congressmen. She worked with Theodore Parker in the Council of Reformers at Boston. At every opportunity she urged Unitarians to be bold and not to compromise religious progress. "Be not afraid of the reputation of the infidels, or the opprobrium of the religious world. . . . If you have had Channing and Worcester to lead you on, why are you not prepared to carry the word forward, even beyond them?"

"Truth for Authority"

Lucretia's religion can be summed up in seven words which she constantly reiterated in her simple but powerful preaching, "Truth for authority, not authority for truth." In religion she insisted that the "inner light" of each individual was a better guide as to what was true than authoritative creeds; yet none believed more firmly than she in the right of every person to his own form of worship. She never, for example, used the word "tolerant," explaining that to admit tolerance of another's beliefs was to express superiority. Nor did she "grant" another a point of doctrine. Everyone had a right to his belief, to be respected, not granted.

With uncompromising vigor, she nevertheless insisted upon change where she felt it necessary. She believed in applying her religious principles to the evils of her day. Slavery, to Lucretia, was wrong and no talk of expediency, no arguments about the authority of the Bible or "Big Business" could make it right. She was the leading spirit in the historical antislavery convention of 1833 in Philadelphia. At that occasion William Lloyd Garrison, then a penniless, almost unknown, youth could enlist no "big names" behind him. The respectable figures of the city were conspicuous by their absence. Hopeful but timid delegates voiced their discouragement. The ardor of the meeting was cooling fast. Then Lucretia, sitting in the gallery, put down her knitting and addressed the chair. She reminded the assembled people that "right principles were stronger than great names." "If our principles are right," she urged, "why should we be cowards?" The Abolitionist Movement was that day launched. Lucretia was a Garrisonian Abolitionist, demanding "now" what others put off vaguely until "the time is ripe." * * *

No custom or idea was too sacred for Lucretia to question, regardless of the consequences. She objected publicly to the prevalent marriage ceremony during which the preacher pronounced the couple, not "husband and wife" but "man and wife," implying that the wife was a mere appendage. * * *

At home and abroad Lucretia demanded Truth for Authority, regardless of the turmoil it produced. She was a religious liberal—in action. As Longfellow in a memorial sermon delivered in the Unitarian Church of Germantown, Pennsylvania, said, "Her life was ordered by divine laws, not by human opinions and customs."

The Influence of Lucretia Mott

The influence of such a person upon those who knew her was profound. In London at the World Anti-slavery Convention of 1840 she sowed the seeds of feminine foment in the heart of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, then twenty-two years her junior. Together they sat behind listening posts, voted out of the convention because they were women. Together they thrilled at Garrison's dramatic gesture as he punctuated his belief in woman's rights by sitting in silence beside the rejected women in the gallery, refusing to take any part in the ten-day conference on the subject nearest his heart. Together the two women laid plans for the first Woman's Rights Convention in America.

Garrison insisted that if his mind had been liberalized in any degree it was due to Lucretia. Robert Collyer, whose Chicago church was called "the glory of Christian Liberalism," paid a similar tribute.

Lucretia died at the age of eighty-seven in 1880. As her coffin was being reverently lowered into the earth midst a profound silence, a voice cried out, "Will no one say anything?" And another responded from a full heart, "Who can speak? The preacher is dead."

Lucretia Mott, "the Flower of Quakerism," "the Soul of the Woman's Movement," "the Black Man's Goddess of Liberty," is dead. But there is something eternal and contagious in her spirit of pure religious liberalism.

—Printed by permission of the author from the *Christian Register*, of January, 1943.

Pilgrimage to Shrine of Lucretia Mott

A direct appeal to the President and Congress, on the eve of the opening of the new Congressional session, to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, brought to a climax yesterday (Saturday) a week of pilgrimage to the shrine of Lucretia Mott, in the crypt of the Capitol, which began on her birthday, Monday. An international group of representative women joined members of local and national organizations in paying tribute to the "Mother of the Organized Woman Movement."

The appeal directed to the President by women of this country asked him to follow the precedent of his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, in urging Congress to recognize the sacrifice and loyalty of women in the war by giving them equal rights and privileges. It cited President Wilson's appearance before Congress to urge the passage of the Suffrage Amendment. The appeal which was sent directly to the White House, to the Vice President in the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House, appears on page 2.

Prominent Citizens Support The Amendment

From Congressman Robsion

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 24, 1943.

MRS. HILDA G. SCHWARTZ, *President,*
Women's National Democratic Club, Inc.,
43 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, New York.

My dear Mrs. Schwartz:

I received your letter of the 22nd inst., advising me that your Club, on December 15th, unanimously passed a resolution endorsing the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Inasmuch as I have always favored this proposed amendment and voted in our Committee to report it favorably to the House, you can understand how much I appreciate the action of your Club, and I am especially pleased to note the interest of the Democratic women in this important matter.

Our Judicial Committee of the House is made up of 11 Republicans and 16 Democrats. Nine Republicans voted in favor of reporting favorably this resolution. Only two Democrats voted with us nine Republicans. Therefore, you can see how important it is to have the support of Democratic Women. May I suggest that you and other Democratic women direct your efforts especially in trying to convince our Democratic brethren on the Committee to support this resolution.

Thanking you again, and wishing you and the other officers and members of your Club a very Merry Christmas, and the fullest measure of health, happiness and success throughout the coming New Year, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN M. ROBSION,
9th Kentucky Congressional Dist.,
Member Committee on Judiciary.

From Women's National Democratic Club, Inc.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB, INC.
MRS. HILDA G. SCHWARTZ
President

43 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

December 16, 1943.

MRS. HARVEY WILEY, *Chairman of Legislation,*
General Federation of Women's Clubs,
2345 Ashmead Place, Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Wiley:

At the suggestion of Miss Anita Politzer, I am sending you herewith a copy of a resolution unanimously passed at the regular meeting of the Women's National Democratic Club, Inc. last night.

We understand that in addition to the general approval by the federation as a whole of this very important legislation, you are anxious to have a record of such action by the individual member clubs.

With cordial holiday greetings, very truly yours,

HILDA G. SCHWARTZ, *President.*
CHRISTINE R. KEFAUVER,
Corresponding Secretary.

Resolution Passed by Women's National Democratic Club, Inc.

Whereas, the contribution made by women in World War One was rewarded by the granting of the vote to women throughout the United States; and,

Whereas, the contribution which women are making in this war is many times greater than ever before; and,

Whereas, one of the four freedoms for which we are fighting throughout the world is justice; and,

Whereas, justice is impossible of realization where equality before the law is denied to one-half of a nation on the basis of sex; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Women's National Democratic Club, Inc. go on record as endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution which would guarantee to women equal rights with men under the law, and petition Congress to force the discharge of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment from the Judiciary Committee of the House and permit its debate on the floor of Congress in order that it may be submitted for consideration to the electorate of the United States in accordance with the democratic principles; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to our representatives in Congress.

From Montevideo Business And Professional Women's Club

One of many such endorsements from Poll now being taken by General Federation, of which a copy has been sent to EQUAL RIGHTS:

Montevideo, Minn., December 4, 1943.

MRS. JOHN L. WHITEHURST, *President,*
General Federation of Women's Clubs,
2345 Ashmead Place, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Whitehurst:

We have recently received a copy of the resolution presented by your Legislative Chairman, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, for our club's consideration.

The Montevideo Business and Professional Women's Club supports the proposed amendment to the constitution now pending before Congress, providing for "equal status" for men and women.

This measure is of vital concern to women and now is the time for women to accept the responsibility to defend the vote for the Equal Rights Amendment. For twenty years, the amendment has been in and out of committee and our Federation has been fighting during this period toward the passage of this bill.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. LYOLA UNGER,
Legislative Chairman.

JOIN THE WOMAN'S PARTY
Work with Women for Women

A Reply To The Opposition

(*Note:* This timely letter has unfortunately been crowded out before, but is just as pertinent now.)

126 Wm. H. Taft Rd., Cincinnati, Ohio,
September 3, 1943.

MISS MARGUERITE WELLS,
President National League of Women Voters,
726 Jackson Place,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Wells:

The tragedy of women opposing themselves to their own hurt is a spectacle painful to see and know about. However sheeplike the majority follow or remain unconcerned, leaders are responsible agents and ought to be informed.

You as National President of the League of Women Voters have based a facetious diatribe on a false premise. I can respect an opinion arrived at by the use of one's full intelligence even though my own thinking is not the same and I conclude differently. But there is no brief for misrepresenting facts and circulating misinformation by the power of holding high office.

I am referring to the letter you recently sent Mrs. Daniel Early, President of the Cincinnati League of Women Voters. Your letter was reported by Mrs. Early in an article printed in our local paper. I feel sure your information was taken as factual, was unchallenged, accepted, and passed on.

I ask you to read the 19th amendment, which plainly and only concerns itself with the right *to vote.* The reading of the three amendments for the Negro will also provide a great deal of information.

We now need all our population, acting in full capacity, for the war effort. Uncle Sam is going to need more than one-half the population to serve as responsible citizens to solve the post war problems. For women to voluntarily abnegate this right and responsibility is to deny posterity, and such action could seem to justify any current opinion of inferiority.

What legislation has been passed to place our women soldiers on an equal basis with the men in pay, rank and benefits, the legislation to commission women physicians and accord them equal status in their work, all such legislation is time limited for the war and six months thereafter, and thus only temporary. Unless constitutional legislation is passed to make these gains permanent the civil status and rights of women will resume the pre-war level.

It was my privilege to be President of the American Medical Women's Assn. this year when we secured legislation to commission women physicians. Personally, I experienced being told that in legal terms, which are based on the old English Common Law usage, women are not persons and that the constitutional provisions for legal status and citizenship rights apply only to males.

It will require legislation to give women full civil citizenship rights. To date, only the right to vote is written in the Constitution. We women physicians claim for the post war period and for all time the full privileges and immunities of citizens and equal protection of the laws. Women especially should not want to impose on us discriminatory handicaps in our civil legal status as individuals.

I, for one, think I have every right to the privileges of citizenship and that that same right belongs to all our people regardless of sex, and that for the U. S. A. to be a true democracy, that right must be definitely set forth in our Constitution.

Very sincerely yours,

(*Signed*) HELENA T. RATTERMAN, *M. D.*,
Past President, American Medical Women's Assn.

The Heroic Defense Of Philippines

By LIEUT. COL. WARREN J. CLEAR, U. S. A.

Eyewitness Epic

* * * Back of General King and his guns were the field hospitals where toiled the unsung, unspectacular heroes of Bataan—the doctors, NURSES and hospital corps men. The NURSES were unbelievably brave. All day long they would be covered with blood from amputations and the dressing of dreadful wounds. Passing weary hands over their foreheads, they would crimson their faces and hair with blood. It did not seem possible that women could stand up to what they did. But somehow they endured it all.

Their immaculate white uniforms gave way, first, to soldier-issue khaki shirts and home-made khaki skirts, and finally to army slacks. They ate the same food as the soldiers, went on short rations when the men did, worked without regard to hours until they dropped from fatigue, and slept under barrages of bomb and shell. And death, falling indiscriminately from the skies, made no sex distinctions. * * *

(Printed by permission of the *Reader's Digest*, July, 1942)

Angels of Bataan

By DON BLANDING

Funny-looking angels, in their blood-stained, rumpled coveralls,
Funny-looking angels, with their patient, weary eyes.
And you know I don't mean "funny"—Godamighty! They are lovelier
Than any laundered angels twanging harps in Paradise.

War is not a pretty business—it is hell and stench and agony.
They're not nurses in the movies . . . "cool ,pale hands on fevered brows."
It is bathing shattered bodies, antiseptics, anaesthesias;
It is constant, grinding vigil, watchful eyes that dare not drowse.

There is laughter . . . they provide it . . . like a soothing hypodermic
When they want to scream with tension or to blackout with a faint.
They are soldiers. Man, what soldiers! Take your hats off, folks, salute them.
They are human. They are women. And they rate the name of saint.

We went through the hell together, fighting . . . all of us were fighting.
We with rifles, knives and bullets; they with bandages and blood.
In the open, unprotected; getting just the same as we got,
And they didn't ask for favors in the rotten muck and mud.

When they are handing out the medals, building monuments and arches,
When they tell heroic stories of the ones who carried on . . .
Let them carve in golden letters that undying splendid story
Of the service and the glory of the angels of Bataan.

—From *Pilot Bails Out.* (With permission of the author.)

The Road To Victory

By OLGA K. ROBINSON
Menlo Park, Calif.

There is not much use in crying over spilt milk unless by such emotional outburst we draw attention to the cause of the mess, or to the fact that it has happened. Why have women failed since they got the suffrage to bring about the millenium? Let's overlook the fact that men have had it much longer and have not been able to do it, though we know many have tried. Most people thought the Vote for Women would bring changes, or they would not have worked so hard against it. Why have they been disappointed?

Perhaps we expected too much from the mere ballot and stopped working—or stopped working so hard. I know that many of the older suffragists stopped working, thinking there would be a larger number of younger women to carry on. That was a grave mistake, for those young women, even if there had been many of them, needed training and encouragement. So the effort to make our countrywomen alive to the knowledge that there were rights they did not have, even though they had the ballot, lagged until we have had this unmerciful jounce of finding ourselves in a World War, about which we had so little to say. We are asking why? One representative in Congress, Jeanette Rankin, was completely snowed under. Her magnificent action raises two pertinent questions. Why did we not have more women there, and why did she, of all those who voted, though many men had fought hard to keep us out of war, vote No?

War is such an abnormal thing, such an emotional intoxication, that after it is over there is always a reaction of idleness. It was possibly unfortunate that women in the United States had the vote just at the end of World War One, when we were all tired of doing so many different things. We were so sure there would never be another, and we persuaded ourselves that other reforms could wait, at least for a time. It is doubtful, if many women knew of all the handicaps under which their sex contended. Great applause should be given to those women, who in spite of indifference and ignorance carried on the hard struggle.

I have asked several women of world experience, why we lost again to the war-makers? The answers have been various. A German refugee said at once, "It is because you did not go into politics." I think she was almost one hundred per cent right. Politics is the tool of the forces that build war, and women, if they are not going to be mere pawns, must learn to use that tool. The best way to learn any tool is to use it often. We should have begun with local politics so we could know first-hand the way the tricks are worked. Sooner or later it is the little local politician who controls his precinct or his village. We are late in starting but I think that is what we ought to do, now.

One of the greatest dangers of wartime is that the main event looms so large that smaller contests for right or wrong are put in the shade and seem unimportant, then when the war smoke clears away we find ourselves in many ways to have retrograded. It will be so with the rights of women after this war, if we do not stick to this task and let others do the war work. Susan B. Anthony found it so, to her dismay, after the Civil War. We cannot trust any other agency to work for our equal rights. We must do it ourselves or lose the game.

Let us begin at once in this 1944 campaign. Run for office if you can get a chance; put some woman up for office, if you cannot run yourself; and work for her with vigor and tact and subtlety. If you cannot get a woman to run, get behind the best man, work for him and learn how, or help some woman in some other city. *But get into politics, women,* then watch your successful candidates—make them reform.

PUBLICATIONS

Questions and Answers on the Equal Rights Amendment—Helena Hill Weed ..... $.10
100 for $3.75

Women Are Not Persons—A Short Version of Questions and Answers ..... $.05
10 for $.15; 100 for $1

Men Speak for the Equal Rights Amendment—Statements by prominent men ..... $.05
25 for $1; 100 for $3.50

Is the Law Unfair to Women—Anita Pollitzer ..... $.05
Reprint from *Woman's Day*
10 for $.25; 100 for $2.

Women's Post-War Jobs Linked to Equal Rights Amendment—Caroline L. Babcock ..... 10 for $.05
Reprint from *New York Herald Tribune*

Equality Before the Law ..... 10 for $.05
Editorial in *New York Herald Tribune*

Letter to the New York Times—Anita Pollitzer ..... 10 for $.05

Equal Rights By Amendment—Pearl Buck ..... 10 for $.05

Statements on the Equal Rights Amendment—By Irving Fisher, Helen Hayes, Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Gladys Swarthout, Katherine Hepburn, Pearl Buck, Jeannette Marks, James Truslow Adams, Raymond Gram Swing, Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, each ..... 10 for $.05

Unequal Justice under Law, Women and the Constitution—Helen Elizabeth Brown ..... $.10
10 for $.50; 50 for $2

Speeches Over WOR—Mollie Maloney and Lena Madesin Phillips ..... 10 for $.05

The Protection of the Equal Rights Amendment—Alma Lutz ..... 10 for $.05

I Appeal to Women for United Support—Josepha Whitney ..... 5 for $.10
100 for $1

Uncle Sam Needs Women Jurors—Alma Lutz ..... $.05
Reprint from *The Christian Science Monitor*
10 for $.25; 100 for $2.

Do You Know? ..... 10 for $.10

Equal Rights vs. Sex Disqualification Removal—Burnita S. Matthews ..... 10 for $.10

A Few Facts About the National Woman's Party ..... 5 for $.10

Equal Rights Amendment Post Cards ..... 5 for $.10
50 for $.50; 100 for $.75

Lucretia Mott Post Cards ..... 2 for $.05
100 for $1

Drive Launched To Make Women Bestir Themselves on World Business

"On the theory that women should *stop thinking merely about their rights* and start thinking of their responsibilities, a group of women have launched a campaign to make women 'bestir themselves to get about the business of the world'.

"Specifically, they want more women to take more important jobs—policy making jobs from a post on the school board to top-ranking Government jobs.

"The idea originated at conferences of the National Achievement Awards Committee, past recipients of the women's award, and representatives of nine organizations which are now pledged to spread the gospel to their membership.

"Two award winners—Rachel Crothers, playwright, and Dr. Margaret Meade, anthropologist now serving on the National Research Council here—explained the idea at a press conference yesterday.

"They explained they were not interested in women as women but in achieving a rounded society, and women represent a large group which has made a 'very meager contribution to society.'

"Fundamentally, they admitted, they are trying to change the pattern of convention."

(From the Washington *Evening Star*, January 14, 1943)

(*Editor's Note.* The word underlined above "Stop thinking merely about their rights," indicates the opposition of the nine groups to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. This opposition to securing for women a clear cut starting point for any progress, namely, securing for them proper constitutional status, recalls the closing verses of a poem by the great American philosopher, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who in 1893 described the different types of women who claim "they have all the rights they want.")

(*Continued on Page 11*)

British Women Fight Decree On Home Savings Question

By DUDLEY ANN HARMON
United Press Staff Correspondent

London, Nov. 22.—British housewives, who cope cheerfully with medieval household appliances, are displaying a rebellious spirit against the recent High Court of Appeals ruling that what they save from housekeeping allowances belongs to their husabnds.

Led by Dr. Edith Summerskill, a Labor Member of Parliament, women are planning to present a petition for repeal of a law passed in 1856 and just upheld in London.

"I have placed my resolution before the House, and while the struggle will be a long and hard one, this is the first request—concerning economic status for 9,000,000 housewives—of its kind," Dr. Summerskill told the United Press.

Dr. Summerskill's resolution asks that women be guaranteed a reasonable share in household savings. The Married Women's Association of Britain wants stronger action—equal financial status of wife with husband.

"If a man earns six pounds a week," says an association official, and four pounds goes for housekeeping, the husband should divide the remaining two pounds with his wife."

The current row is the result of an event which took place 12 years ago.

At that time Mrs. Dorothy Blackwell, an Oxford housewife, joined a co-operative society with money saved by taking in lodgers. She did all the work for the boarders herself. When she separated from her husband in 1941, an Oxford judge ruled that the 100 pounds ($400) she saved in the co-operative belonged to her husband. His decision was upheld at a Court of Appeals trial in London last month.

In handing down the ruling three men judges opined that, if a housewife were allowed to appropriate savings from her allowance, she might skimp on her husband's food. They alleged that, if this were to become law, husbands would be fearful of giving their wives more than the minimum amount.

The British housewife disagrees.

"I think husband and wife should share equally," said four out of five women I stopped on London streets today.

The Married Women's Association and the newspapers have been deluged with irate letters from housewives since the ruling. A typical one says, "If a housewife can use her talent to scrimp even a shilling a week from her allowance, she deserves not only that shilling, but a halo."

A British housewife slaves twice as long and hard as her American counterpart. I know, because with the lack of wartime maids, I've become one. My flat is in the most modern part of London, but in my spare time I struggle with a "geyser," supposed to heat water but apt to go temperamental. I haul my garbage down three flights of stairs—there's no lift. I make my fires, instead of depending on central heating, and clear away the ashes. The repeal of the 1856 law is only common justice.

(From Washington *Daily-News*, November 22, 1943)

Editorial on Home Savings

BRITISH JUSTICE COMES A CROPPER

Our faith in the rugged character and honesty of the English common law has been rudely assailed by a decision handed down the other day by three lord justices. A wife is not entitled, they held, to money saved from the household allowance given her by her husband.

If anyone is more entitled to such hard-earned money more than the average wife, who is it?

All through the country, in our cities, we have the 40-hour week, time and a half for overtime, double time for working on Sundays and a lot of other luxuries for working men. But not for the housewife.

She works 10 or 12 hours a day, seldom gets a vacation, is not given every Thursday afternoon and Sunday off—and is not paid for her work in the bargain. It is probably about the same in Britain.

So she manages, by careful estimation of needs and methods of thrift, to save a little pin money from the household allowance, generally too small, given her by her husband. And the august British court of appeals says she is not entitled to it!

It is carrying logic or whatever fine legal point is made a little too far. The learned justices argued that if the housewife were entitled to keep all she could save from the household allowance for herself, nothing would prevent her from keeping all of it and starving her spouse to death. All we can say to that argument is that he would deserve it.

If the British court of appeals is the same as it is in our country, it means that the last word has been said, legally, about the pin money. But we'd like to bet that the husband in question will never hear the end of it—nor should he.

—Syracuse *Post Standard*, Oct. 30, 1943.

Drive to Make Women Bestir Themselves

(Continued from Page 10)

"Ignorant women—college bred, sometimes,
But ignorant of life's realties
And principles of righteous government,
And how the privileges they enjoy
Were won with blood and tears by those before—
Those they condemn, whose ways they now oppose;
Saying, 'Why not let well enough alone?
Our world is very pleasant as it is'—
These tell us they have all the rights they want."

"And, more's the pity, some good women, too;
Good conscientious women, with ideas;
Who think—or think they think—that woman's cause
Is best advanced by letting it alone;
That she somehow is not a human thing,
And not to be helped on by human means,
Just added to humanity—an 'L'—
A wing, a branch, an extra, not mankind,—
These tell us they have all the rights they want."

"And out of these has come a monstrous thing,
A strange down-sucking whirlpool of disgrace,
Women uniting against womanhood
And using that great name to hide their sin!
Vain are their words as that old king's command
Who set his will against the rising tide.
But who shall measure the historic shame
Of these poor traitors—traitors are they all—
To great Democracy and Womanhood!"

Naming of the Florence Bayard Hilles Library

(Continued from Page 5)

in deserving this tribute. There are women here today who have aided my every effort.

"It was Thomas Carlyle who said, 'The true university of these days is a collection of books.' So the old Coach House has become a library and a university as well. I warn Dr. MacLeish, who has given us so much pleasure by being with us today, that he now has a rival, and that too within a square of the Congressional Library. In expressing my appreciation and gratitude I find it difficult, so I shall content myself by simply saying, 'Thank you, thank you.'"

Miss Lee then announced that the plaque "Florence Bayard Hilles Library" has been placed on the outside wall of the building housing the Library. This plaque was designed by Mr. Neuman Sudduth of the Art Department of the Evening Star, and was a gift to the Party.

The National Woman's Party song, written more than a quarter of a century ago, by the lyric and dramatic poet Josephine Preston Peabody, was then sung by Madame Zilliacus, Mrs. Swank, and Miss Burdette, accompanied by Miss Kenison.

Following the singing of the National Anthem by all, the ceremony came to a close.

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

Straws in the Wind

THAT women will have to work for less than men if they want jobs after the war is the opinion of Dr. Eveline Burns, formerly with the National Resources Planning Board. She warns us that women will be in a most disadvantageous position when the war ends.

R. J. Thomas, President of the United Automobile Workers of America, tells us that employers do not want women in industry after the war. Financial news letters and investment counsellors, forecasting business conditions, state frankly that management plans to "ease women out of occupations" after the war.

A distiller's advertisement, appearing in a New York paper recently, is indicative of the general attitude toward women . . . sentimental praise for what they are now doing for the war, a thank you, and goodbye. The advertisement concludes, "Let's hope that it won't be long before the job at hand is finished so that these emergency-period women workers can again begin to practice their main line, homemaking. . . . Men want their women in the home. They're so nice to come home to."

We hear more and more about juvenile delinquency and always it is blamed on working mothers. In some instances they merit the blame, but there are many other contributing causes which are conveniently soft-pedalled, for we are being primed for propaganda to bar married women from industry after the war. Much is said of the demoralizing influence on women of their new freedom and financial independence, and, according to the press, Father Flanagan, founder of Boys' Town, testifying before a special Senate subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education, declared that women should be content to reign in the kitchen. There is an increasing interest in a family wage so that there will be no need for mothers to work outside the home, but propaganda for a family wage needs watching, for it may be made the entering wedge for legislation barring married women from industry. While we all agree that wages should be sufficient to support a family decently, so that mothers of small children do not need to carry two jobs, one at home and one at the factory, this can be accomplished without interfering with women's right to work, if she so chooses, at a paid job.

These are all straws in the wind and show what the future may bring unless women do something about it. Talk, propaganda, and pleading will not solve the problems ahead. But what can women do?

First of all, they must be realistic and build for the future on a solid foundation. This foundation is the Equal Rights Amendment which will put them on the same citizenship basis as men and will make it impossible for sex legislation to drive them out of jobs after the war. It will not be a cure-all, but it will make unconstitutional all laws barring married women from jobs or laws interfering with women's right to contract for their labor on the same terms as men. Remembering the bills introduced and the rulings made against married women workers in more than forty States during the last depression, women must be on their guard for the future. The acknowledgment and guarantee of complete citizenship to women is bound to raise their valuation in the eyes of all men, employer, fellow-worker, and politician, and will help heal their own smouldering inferiority complex.

There are other things women can do to build for the future. They must take their work seriously, get the best possible training, and be able to meet the highest standards so that they will be as well if not better equipped than men for available jobs. And they must ask no favors because they are women.

The 1944 elections offer them a great opportunity, for they will hold the balance of power as voters. They must use it not only to elect men and women to office who will give women a square deal, but to put more capable women in office. If more women do not become an active part of our governing group, they cannot hope to have any influence in the forming of policies or in solving the problems of the postwar world.

It is time for women to make up their minds what role they want to play in the world. Are they willing to be observers and dependents, buffeted here and there by the winds of chance? Are they still willing to have a sphere mapped out for them? Or are they ready to hew out a destiny for themselves and play a realistic active role in the days to come? The future is in their hands.

A Question To The Electric Industry

Proposed by Vivien Kellems, Westport (Conn.) Industrialist

KELLEMS COMPANY
Saugatuck, Connecticut

Dear Electrical Industry:

The other day I received a letter. It was a very nice letter from a very nice man—an engineer. As a matter of fact, the letter was an invitation to make a speech for a group of engineers at their first meeting this fall. And in the letter he said:

> "In connection with having you as our first lady speaker, I would like to tell you of one of our discussions this last year. Our Executive Council, recognizing the influx of women engineers, suggested an Amendment to our Constitution deleting the word "male" wherever it appeared. However, we did not obtain an affirmative vote of three-fourths of the 250 membership. Thus, as one of those who was in favor of the Amendment, I should like to have you come and show our membership body what a woman could do for our organization."

What an assignment! Probably a case of fool rushing in where angel fears to tread, but with my usual temerity I have accepted the invitation to speak *and* the responsibility of trying to make those dear engineers woman-conscious.

You see, we're going to emerge from this war into a changed engineering world. Women are going to be in it, and furthermore they are going to want to stay in it. Quite rightly so. If they help win this war with their engineering knowledge and ability, isn't it possible they can make a contribution to the solution of peacetime problems? It's a question peculiarly pertinent to the Electrical World.

And so, Dear Industry, may I ask you a question? What part are women going to play in *your* post war world?

Sincerely yours,

VIVIEN KELLEMS.